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T 248 174 Notwithstanding Ribeiro's explicit assertion that the Krahô' of 1816 did not know how to raise or treat cotton, it seems to me to have been native to all Northwestern and Central Gê before the advent of civilization. In the first place, cotton is employed in a variety of ways—in wholly aboriginal forms of industry as well as in ceremonial, notably in the boys' initiation festival. A second argument is the technique of plaiting cotton carrying slings for children, though it must be admitted that according to Ribeiro[46] their material was burity bast. Third, there is the form of the spindle, deviating from the neighboring Neobrazilian and Guajajára parallels (pl. 18, *a*); finally, all the Northwestern tribes share the same word for cotton.

T G 243 252 Ethnographically, however, the kupá is the most important of Timbira cultivated species. This creeper (*Cissus* sp.) has starchy tendrils, which attain the thickness of an inch and are baked in earth ovens. It does not occur wild; is restricted, so far as my information goes, to the Eastern and Western Timbira and the Seránte, all of them Gé tribes; and is pronouncedly xerophil. Accordingly, it is probably a very old cultivated species peculiar to these tribes, which could not have borrowed it from either Neobrazilians or any of their present Indian neighbors.

T 249 276 As for tobacco, my corresponding comment on it among the Apinayé also holds for the Eastern Timbira. Apparently they were *acquainted* with it before the coming of civilization, but even nowadays they do not plant it, the timid attempts of this or that Rąmkõ'kamekra having invariably failed to yield satisfactory results. I did not observe a single case of its magical or ceremonial use among these people. Both sexes, however, are passionate smokers and constantly beg for tobacco. They smoke cigarettes of maize husks or tauary bast; a few also use little clay pipe bowls bent at an angle, with bamboo stems (kačím; Portuguese, caximbo). The chief Kukrãčą' manufactures very pretty and neatly finished specimens, partly for sale to Neobrazilians, among whom the same form is in vogue.

T 245 Urucú and pepper shrubs, as well as sporadic *Crescentia*, mango, lemon or orange trees, are planted beside or behind dwellings, the young plants being guarded against roving pigs and fowls by little fences of vertically set sticks or by circumscribed quadrangles made of former racing logs.

T 241 361 166 The true plantations (pl. 5, *a*) are situated in the narrow *galeria* forests by the brooks. Since annually new clearings are necessary, the distance of the plots from the village steadily increases. When the transportation of the crops becomes altogether too cumbersome, the Indians are obliged to move their village near the new plots. Thus, the Rąmkõ'kamekra migrate with fair regularity about every ten years from the Ribeirão Santo Estevão to the Ribeirão dos Bois. While they are stationed by one of the two creeks for from ten to twenty years, the timber of the other grows again sufficiently to permit the creation of new plots.

562 412 423 197 Each individual family has its plantation, owned by the woman. No single man owns a plot, but many an unmarried woman claims one and gets her kinsmen to make the requisite clearings, this being an exclusively masculine task. For the last hundred years only iron axes have been in use, different brands being very well distinguished by the natives, who rightly prefer the North American "Collins" blades. No one nowadays is able to haft such stone blades as are still occasionally found. The method of felling timber with iron tools coincides with Neobrazilian practice. Though not every Indian has a good ax suitable for the purpose, he may borrow a relative's.

423 ● 596 511 The several plots belonging to the married woman of an extended family usually, but not always, adjoin one another. At times one individual family may simul-

[46] Memoria, § 12.

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taneously own plots in two separate sites. Boundaries between the plantations of different owners are generally marked by rows of maize plants. The size of a plot depends on the tree-feller's industry. One hectare (not quite two and a half acres) is probably the minimum for a single family, many owning double that area, but estimates are difficult because the form is never regular. Pohl sets the diameter of a Põrekamekra extended family's farm at one hundred fathoms—a somewhat smaller estimate. The yield naturally hinges by no means exclusively on the extent of the clearing and the number of plants, but very largely on the care bestowed on them. In this respect the Eastern Timbira are often incredibly negligent. To be sure, many families violently exert themselves in felling timber and planting their crops, so that they could well harvest far more than the needs of subsistence. But after this initial effort they pay little attention, so that the farm goes to ruck and ruin. There is no such personal sentimental bond between cultivated plants and their owner as I discovered among the Apinayé.[160]

Both sexes jointly plant, weeding is almost wholly a feminine job, harvesting exclusively so. No man will ever haul a carrying-basket with fruits; at most he may

Fig. 4. Sling. ⅛ nat. size.

carry a few maize cobs or tubers in his hands. At the time of maturation swarms of dwarf parrots attack the plantations, which are mostly guarded by the bigger boys, armed with slings (fig. 4) or, more rarely, with pellet bows (pl. 15, *a*) borrowed from the Neobrazilians.

Except where the plots of the steppe Timbira adjoin impenetrable riparian forests they are protected by coarse, heavy fences made of logs resting on forked supports. These enclosures are to shut out not, as Snethlage supposed, game animals, but rather the cattle of neighboring ranchers, the worst plague that afflicts their fields. But notwithstanding these fences the beasts, particularly if of the zebu breed, often break down the barrier and will within a few hours destroy the whole crop. Fazendeiros have more than once deliberately driven their herds into the Indians' plantations, especially if they were "rightful owners" of Indian lands, in order to compel the natives to abandon the site. Only about ten years ago this was the fate of the Mãkamekra horde of the Krahõ' and their plantations at the sources of the Rio Manoel Alves Pequeño. If the Indians then shoot down one of these pests and consume it by way of indemnifying themselves for the loss of their farm, the stockmen wax highly indignant over such "cattle lifting."

Of the wild animals harmful to the crops the dwarf parrots rank as the worst. No sooner has the sun risen than they swarm from their nocturnal resting places in the riparian trees and swiftly pounce upon the crops, screaming aloud. Thus they cause considerable havoc, not so much by what they consume as by the quantities of scattered and spoiled fruit. This applies, above all, to the ripening maize

[160] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 90.

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very small dots and strokes, the votõ'ro use rings, the pénye have patches. Eduardo Hoerhan, the agent of Serviço de Protecção aos Indios who in 1914 concluded a treaty of peace with the Botocudo of Santa Catharina (Jules Henry's "Kaingang"), has sent me the following data:[25]

> These people are grouped into three exogamous and patrilinear, unlocalized major clans who claim kinship with as many legendary heroes, Uvanhêcú, Crên-nãõ, and Zêit-tacha-cá-i-lã. The members call themselves "kin" of the heroes—Uvanhêcú-caícá, etc.—but the true clan names seem to be mê-vídn, mê-cálêbn, and mê-cúi-ken. They vary in decorative paint, the mê-vídn using two parallel rows of dots on the forehead, chest, and back; the mê-calêbn, vertical strokes on the forehead; the mê-cúi-ken, circles on the forehead, cheeks, chest, and back. The heroes are also supposed to have created the animals respectively bearing similar designs; but sun and moon are not classified in this scheme. Further, variations in paint occur in subclans: the mê-to páa-pa (mê-vídn) substitute broad patches for the dots, retaining the same arrangement; the zõo-zí (mê-cálêbn) add a horizontal stroke above the vertical forehead lines; the cúi-kent (mê-cúi-ken) use a central dot with their circles.

Accordingly, the votõ'ro of the Kaingang obviously corresponds to the Botocudo-mê-cui-ken; the mê-to-páa subgroup of the mê-vídn (B.) to the pénye subgroup of the kanyerú moiety (K.); the zõo-zí subgroup of the mê-cálêbn (B.) to the pénye subgroup of the kamé moiety (K.); the cúi-kent (B.) to the votõ'ro of the kanyerú moiety (K.). The correspondences and lacunae may be represented as follows:

	Botocudo		Kaingang	
Exogamous units				
Dot decoration	mê-vídn	=	kanyerú	
Lines	mê-cálêbn	=	kamé	
Rings	mê-cúi-ken		— (see subgroup votõ'ro)	
Subgroups	?		kanyerú-ag-paí	
	?		kamé-ag-paí	
	cúi-kent		kanyerú-ag-votõ'ro	Rings
			kamé-ag-votõ'ro	
	mê-to páa-pa		kanyerú-ag-pénye	Patches
	zõo-zí		kamé-ag-pénye	

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The Individual and the Extended Family

The exogamous moieties are composed of individual families; the extended family is not of basic economic importance, although there is a germ of such a development in feminine house ownership. For the daughters remain in their mother's home after marriage, so that their children grow up under their maternal grandmother's care. This old woman's married brothers and sons do, it is true, reside in the houses of their mothers-in-law; but they regularly frequent the house of their mothers and her sisters. There they usually enjoy greater prestige than the husbands who have joined the household, and if a man loses his wife by death or divorce, he resumes his place in the maternal home without any formality.

It sometimes happens that a couple do not remain in the wife's mother's house but put up a dwelling of their own, either because of restricted space facilities or because the husband attaches more weight to personal independence. However, in this case the new habitation always rises immediately beside the wife's mother's. In this way an extended family may spread over several houses. These arrangements naturally promote the avunculate.

[25] Letter of Nov. 17, 1933.

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The members of a house community of the type described are obviously closer to one another than to outsiders at large, but they fail to constitute a definite economic unit among the Timbira. The plantations of the residents are ordinarily in juxtaposition, but every married woman has her own plots and the house community as such has no property apart from the domicile.

However, the entire group will safeguard the individual's rights against any injustice from the outside. On one occasion, for example, a man treated his wife badly and deserted her, whereupon her extended family met for prolix deliberations and tried to force the renegade to pay an indemnity. In this sense the safety of the individual rests on his affiliation with the major family, and during disputes one often hears such threats as: "I have a large body of kindred." To tell a man to his face that he lacks kin is an affront.

On the other hand, the house community plays not the slightest role in ceremonial. Further it lacks a genuine head. Theoretically the grandmother should occupy that position, but this obtains in a small minority of cases because with increasing age her daughters grow dominant. Actually the main part devolves on some matrilineal grandfather or uncle, who may not even live in the house. A matriarchate and the enslavement of women are notions equally foreign to the Timbira.

Snethlage has correctly grasped the nature of this unit.[176]

Rainy Season Moieties[177]

During the meipimrą'k period, that is, from September to April—in other words, roughly during the rainy season—there are no major festivals. It is accompanied by a distinctive dual division which coincides with neither the exogamous moieties, nor the plaza moieties, nor the age-class moieties—notwithstanding the fact that it, too, is connected with the antithesis of east and west. The two groups are called ką'makra and atų'kmakra, that is, people (kra) of the plaza (ką') and people from without (atų'k). The Indians are unable to explain these designations. The female members are termed ką'kwęiye and atų'kkwęiye.

All of nature is antithetically divided between the two groups, as indicated by the following incomplete scheme.

ką̨makra		atų'makra	
East	Fire	West	Firewood
Sun	Earth	Moon	Water
Day	Red color	Night	Black color
Dry season		Rainy season	

This dichotomy does not involve the opposition of the sexes, but extends to animals and plants: all species that are black or show marked black coloring fall into the atų'k category; all those conspicuously red or white are ką'. Maize and manioc are ką', the sweet potato and cucurbit atų'k; yams are, according to the species, divided up between the two groups. The Indians justify the allocation of the celestial bodies by referring to the sun's rising in the east and to the new moon's in the west.

Affiliation with a rainy season moiety hinges on a person's names, which inevitably place him in one or the other category. The name sets are transferred by the same principle that determines allocation to a plaza group; a man transfers his

[176] Meine Reise, 464. Nordostbras. Ind., 170.

[177] It may in the future prove useful in ethnological literature to call "nonexogamous" moieties "agamic" or "agamous." These terms, already in vogue among biologists, would better designate moieties that are neither exogamous nor endogamous. R. H. L.

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841 853 171 about frequently married eight-year-old girls, refers not to the Timbira, but to the Southern Kayapó.

How the native theory of defloration as prerequisite to menstruation could persist is a complete enigma; and its occurrence in identical form among Eastern and Western Timbira proves that the idea is not an innovation. I myself took cognizance of its existence relatively late. An accurate determination of the facts encounters difficulty, not because of Indian prudery, but because the natives could never grasp that I was interested solely in the objective facts: they always supposed that I was taking a personal interest in the girl I asked about. That I was inquiring about two or three girls was also intelligible, though my simultaneously concerning myself with all of them seemed a bit odd. I left the puzzle unsolved. [123]

881 841 585 No special measures are taken at puberty, the procedure remaining uniform for the first and for subsequent menstrual periods. Since defloration and menstruation are equated, the diet is the same in both cases, but in the former it extends to both spouses, who for several days abstain from heavy dishes lest their hair turn gray prematurely. Meat, manioc paste, and manioc flour are taboo, while nowadays rice is reckoned most suitable.

841 Formerly a menstruating female is said to have worn a hip cord of burity bast dyed red, a badge that had completely fallen into desuetude at the time of my stay. She goes bathing as usual, but wears no decoration and does not appear in the plaza, least of all for dancing. In fact, she does not without necessity leave the house, where she is seated on a special mat of paty palm leaves. She must, above all, refrain from looking at the plantation in order not to injure the growth of the crops. She drinks from a special water bottle, but may prepare food for others as well as herself. The use of a scratching-stick is prescribed. It is usually a span in length and consists of a rod of paty leafstalk or any handy little stick as a substitute; the scratcher is usually stuck into the thatch of the wall beside the bed. [412]

No man knowingly has relations with a menstruating woman lest he be afflicted with a headache so violent as to drive him mad. If he recognizes the woman's condition too late, he immediately prepares an infusion of cedar bark, sets it outdoors overnight, and drinks it the next morning. [757]

836 627 596 Though premarital defloration has become the rule as it were, the girl's relatives still demand an indemnity unless marriage follows. Usually there is a family council, embracing the mother, her brothers and sisters, the girl's elder brother if old enough, and the paternal aunt. After a cross-questioning of the girl in order to ascertain the facts, the mother's brother betakes himself to the culprit's family and with the utmost calm and prolixity propounds the claim for indemnification. He rarely receives an immediate reply, for the Timbira are generally extremely slow in reaching a decision. There ensues a discussion by the culprit's family, possibly repeated at intervals of weeks, so that the affair is drawn out over months, sometimes dying of inanition—if for no other reason, because in the meantime the girl has had over-ample time to dispose of her person. In some cases, however, the uncle takes a more determined stand and lays siege to the opposing party till they indemnify the others with a gun or such ironware as a pot, a bush-knife, or an ax, the maternal uncle receiving the lion's share. This, at least, is the contemporary procedure. Anciently, it is said (and confirmed by Pohl), premarital defloration was virtually nonexistent.

833 171 Like the Apinayé and the Šerénte, the Rąmkõ'kamekra cohabit both in dorsal and in semilateral feminine position; in the latter case, posteriorly below the woman's raised thigh.

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839 Perversions seem to be extremely rare. I know nothing of masturbation or homosexuality. I heard of one youth, somewhat abnormal in other respects, who had cohabited with a calf. The old people declared nothing of the sort had ever happened before. The solitary known case of incest is that described on page 114.

838 A certain Nyōkwỵ'dn, about twenty-five years old (1936), is a marked invert in tendency. He has a high falsetto voice and a more feminine carriage than many a girl. In sitting down he often assumes a woman's posture and displays a striking predilection for feminine domestic tasks. In a photograph of fourteen young men he is the only one to cover his genitalia with a bunch of leaves. He has never had sexual relations with a girl, but I expressly ascertained that he has never been known to indulge in homosexual practices. The omnipotent ceremonial pattern obliges him to join his age mates in all their performances, which he does unresistingly. To his tribesmen he remains an enigma; tradition does not report any comparable instance in the past. But since he does not play truant in any activity, people do not mock him and permit him to live according to his strange inclinations.

WEDDINGS

585 123 596 Formerly the majority of youths married their fiancées in a joint ceremony immediately consequent on the close of the last phase of the initiation festival. The last collective wedding of this sort seems to have occurred in 1913, for none followed the close of initiation in 1923 and 1933. This was probably due to the fact that many of the young warriors were already married. The old people in conversation with me repeatedly regretted the decadence of this usage, and since I encouraged them to insist on its maintenance they arranged with the leaders of the latest initiates, the põhjtĩkama class, to make up for the omitted solemnity. Soon the põhjtĩkama, whom I had joined as a sort of honorary member, came to me gleefully declaring that after all it would be better to adhere to ancient custom. I eagerly agreed, but when I scrutinized the program it turned out that I was booked to wed the thirteen-year-old Kõrédn! This, then, explained the girl's recent solicitude on behalf of my horses; her uncle Pỵtõ's remarkably comradely attitude; her elder sister Rąrepri''s invitation to enter the house whenever I passed by. On meeting Pỵtõ' the next time I explained that I was not able to get married in these circumstances. He said nothing in reply for the time being, but went to his maternal home and summoned a family council that included himself, his brother, his two sisters, one of whom was Kõrédn's mother, and another old woman. Then he sent Kõrédn herself to invite me to come. Obviously everything had been settled, for he was the only one to speak, saying that Kõrédn had told him she wanted to marry me; that my impending departure was no obstacle; for some day I would return since I was one of them and not of the "Christians"; that then I should find my wife in precisely the condition in which I had left her, as he and his sister would take care would be the case. I expressed regret over the unfavorable conditions, but persisted in my refusal, explaining the inconvenient consequences of grass widowhood for the girl (p. 126 f.). All present remained silent, and I went home.

[623] In the evening and on the following day the matter seemed to be discussed further by the council in the plaza. Then once more there was a family assembly in Kõrédn's home, I being again summoned, with the same result as before. All around me their faces showed displeasure, and Kõrédn was in tears. A few hours later a dozen põhjtĩkama came to me, accompanied by their commandant, a kwỵ'nõ of mine, who told me categorically that in view of my refusal they had dropped the project of a collective wedding. I vainly tried to convince them that my per-

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sonality played a wholly incidental role in this proposed celebration; it was impossible to discuss the matter rationally, which was henceforth never broached again.

The older men gave the following account of the solemnity as conducted in the old days:

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The master of ceremonies was customarily the leader, mamkyẽ'ti, of the oldest sportively active age class, who in this capacity bore the name of hudoipiapónkaté. The young warriors' maternal uncles went hunting in order to get meat and falcon down. The game was handed over to the brides' mothers, who prepared meat pies therefrom. The young warriors, as well as their brides, were decorated with falcon down, each in his maternal home. The former assembled in the plaza in a precentor's company, sat down in a circle, and began to sing. Then the hudoipiapónkaté grasped the young warriors' leader by the hand, pulled him up, and while singing "kapẽ-pẽ-ẽ toipẽ amčú!" he led him to the bride's house, where a new mat was lying spread out over the platform bed and the bride was expecting him in standing position. The hudoipiapónkaté led the couple to the mat, telling them to sit down beside each other, and intertwine arms and legs. Thereupon he admonished them as to the duties of conjugal life. To the groom he might say, "Now you must separate from your parents. You may visit them, you may bring them some of the game brought home from hunting, but above all you must look out for your wife and your mother-in-law!" Then he received a meat pie and left. Similarly, each young warrior in turn was led to his fiancée provided he had one and was of proper age. Then the households of all the newlyweds sent meat pies to the councilors in the plaza.

However, there always remained a number of young warriors who because of their youth or some other reason were not married immediately after initiation, but continued to sleep every night in the plaza and subsequently were married singly, though by the same ceremonial.

Of the Põrekamekra, Pohl writes:[197]

> Der Bräutigam erscheint am ganzen Leib mit Gummi bestrichen und mit weißen Vogelfedern beklebt. So geschmückt wird er von seinen Aeltern und Verwandten, unter dem weithin dröhnenden Schall der Hörner, in das Haus der Braut geführt und dort in einer Art von Wortwechsel um diese geworben. Nach erteilter Bewilligung wird die Feierlichkeit mit einem Schmause beschloßen.

Obviously the author in part misinterpreted the procedure.

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No Rąmkõ'kamekra is obliged to marry against his will. If a seducer of a virgin refuses to marry her, he can be forced to pay an indemnity but not to take her to wife. This principle still holds, at least in theory. If a mother or uncle were to attempt to coerce a girl into marriage with an economically suitable young man, she would at once thrust at them the story of Klĳkwẽ'i, which seems to date back some sixty or seventy years, when the village was situated on the Riacho Rapoza, somewhat below the present settlement.

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When Klĳkwẽ'i, who was very pretty, had received her girdle, her mother selected an able and industrious youth for her daughter's husband. However, the girl absolutely refused, preferring another, of whom her mother disapproved. The mother scolded and in reply to her daughter's request for sympathy, struck her on the back with her fist. Klĳkwẽ'i lay down on her platform bed and cried. In the afternoon she got up, hung her corded girdle about her sash-fashion, and went out of the village by herself. Where the northbound road passes between two hills she found a faveira tree at her right; unknotting her girdle, she tied it to a branch and hanged herself. When she failed to return after sunset, people looked for her, found her trail, and then her body. Since then every Indian passerby would strike

[197] Pohl, Reise, 2:195.

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his presentation always involving the gift of a gourd bowl of food or of a meat pie. At various other ceremonies the chiefs and elders also get meat pies and other victuals in the plaza.

At the close of the pepyé retreat in 1933 I witnessed a ceremony that publicly and formally expressed the principle that old women merit respect as much as old men. Ordinarily there is no feminine counterpart to the men's council in the plaza; but on that day the old women were invited by the councilors to take the male elders' places in the plaza, the councilors themselves withdrawing to a spot on the margin. Then two youths and a girl hauled in a huge meat pie on a mat and handed it over to the old women, who forthwith divided it up and ate it precisely in the manner of the councilors, whereupon they went home.

Among the Timbira the designation "old woman" or "woman" is never applied to men vituperatively.

BURIAL

As stated previously, a Canella, whenever possible, tries to die in his matrilineal home. In 1929 I saw relatives of a very old, sick woman exerting themselves to the utmost in order to get her home alive—an end accomplished only by dashing across the steppe with the patient, who was resting in a makeshift hammock. Several minutes after her arrival she died. In any case a corpse is never laid on a bier except in the maternal home.

A dying person is placed on mats in the middle of the house, with his feet toward the door. Except in the case of a prominent figure in the community no one but the next of kin customarily assembles around the patient. A brief lament uttered by his mother, aunt, grandmother, or sister announces his passing away. Thereupon his maternal and paternal kin, as well as his hąpín, assemble in the house of mourning, but the general lament by all present does not begin until about an hour later, with the preparation of the corpse, during which all sit round it on mats placed in juxtaposition.

The ablutions and ornamentation devolve on the deceased individual's special pinčwę'i or hąpín, but other hąpín also help. They cut his hair, pluck out his eyebrows, smooth his features, and put on his decorations. He is painted with urucú or—if a hąmrén—decorated with falcon down. The corpses of little children are taken into the nearest relatives' laps (including males) and bewailed. Individual lamentations now begin to swell into a chorus of blubbering and a loud, rapid, monotonous chant: "When you were still alive, I was very fond of you, but now I do not want you any more! Don't return here!" The widow and kinswomen of the deceased may weep themselves into a paroxysm of despair and attempt suicide, especially as the corpse is being carried outdoors. Suddenly seizing a tool or firebrand, the mourner may strike herself a terrific blow over the head or back. Or she may run into the space in front of the house and, precisely like her Guaraní and Apinayé sisters,[28] take a header (kamdočép) against the hard ground, possibly breaking her neck. Many years ago a mother, seeing her dead child carried away, is said to have run into the steppe and hanged herself there. Men never commit suicide on this occasion, and generally only the maternal uncle and grandfather are conspicuous in lamentation.

At Konkré's little son's funeral I noted the order in which relatives sat round the corpse: Konkré was at the head, his mother Yątkré and her sister Kentapí at the feet, his wife and one of her sisters on the right side, his mother-in-law and another sister-in-law on the left. A little to one side was seated his father-in-law,

[28] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 151.

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chief Ropkᾱ', and opposite him chief Kukrᾰ̄dᾱ', who calls Ropkᾱ' his uncle, was delivering the funeral oration. When the women put the corpse on Ropkᾱ''s lap he began to cry aloud and desperately, while Kukrᾰ̄dᾱ' rose and went to the plaza to arrange for the digging of the grave. In the meantime the boy's maternal uncle who was to have transferred his name to the child arrived on the scene, likewise took the corpse on his lap, and fell to crying violently. Kentapí called my attention to the fact that neither she nor her mother took hold of the corpse lest the child of her sister Iromkré, who was still in her lying-in retreat, should cry constantly.

In the plaza the chief asks who wishes to dig the grave. A volunteer always comes forward, but it must not be a member of the dead man's exogamous moiety. The mode of remunerating his and the corpse decorators' services has been described (p. 102).

Formerly, when secondary burial was still in vogue, the deceased was first buried behind his mother's home, except for a hąmren (p. 98). When I visited the Krahô' in 1930, these Indians seemed to have still maintained the custom of burial behind the house; the Rąmkô'kamekra of today would at most follow it in the case of an infant.

The grave is more or less 2 meters in depth. Formerly it was round, and the corpse was put in there in a sitting posture, facing east.[200] At present, at least among the Rąmkô'kamekra, the grave is exclusively rectangular, the corpse lying extended on its back.

If the death occurs in the morning, the burial takes place in the evening; if a person dies in the evening, he is buried the following morning and there is an all-night lament near the corpse. If the deceased man's prominence draws many related persons to the spot, a kinsman kills a pig, which is hurriedly prepared for the entertainment of those present. Part of the food is then put in a gourd for the dead man, an elderly woman several times holding a morsel close to his mouth.

The mats on which the corpse rests are folded over it and tied firmly at both ends and in the middle. Then the bundle is hung to a pole, which two men carry to the cemetery—at present from one and a half to two kilometers from the village. A few additional mats are taken along for the adjustment of the grave. None of the Timbira tribes throws earth directly on the corpse, as reported for the Pôrekamekra by Pohl, who does not, however, seem to have attended a funeral; and the grave described by Ribeiro was presumably not a Timbira's, as he assumes, but that of a Gamella of Vianna.[201] The opening of the grave is covered with transversely laid pieces of wood, which are topped with mats before heaping up earth. Lest the heat of the sun annoy the deceased, twigs and palm fronds are put on this mound; sometimes the grave is fenced with old racing logs to keep out roaming domestic pigs. (See pl. 26, *b*).

At least nowadays there are no funeral deposits except that a woman's carrying basket may be laid on her mound along with a gourd bowl, her spindle, and the like.

The next of kin never accompany the corpse to its grave, but remain seated in the house of mourning, weeping probably another half hour at the empty spot where it had been resting. Then they have themselves sprinkled with water in front of the house "in order to remove the dead man's perspiration," a service which is paid for. The house and the space before it are always swept.

Like the Apinayé,[202] the Canella believe that the shadow of a person who dies "hungry," that is, has not for some time prior to his demise taken any food, will return to his mother's home in search of sustenance. Their procedure is quite like

[200] Pohl, Reise, 2:197. Snethlage, Nordostbras, 173.
[201] Pohl, Reise, 2:197. Ribeiro, Memoria, § 26–28.
[202] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 182.